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over his hands and rubs his face with this and water, praying at the same time to Ä~~l~~quntäm:

"Father! May I become strong, capable and successful."

The combination of prayer and washing frequently so strengthens a man's wash-basin that prosperity comes to him. Until a few years ago, this practice was almost universal. ~~young men were constently urged by their parents to wash in the river at dawn as a means of enabling their wash-basins to function.~~ Water is always considered a strange substance, ~~object,~~ obviously a supernatural creation, and believed to be the chief means of sustenance for a child after being weaned.(1)

Shamans achieve much of their success through their ability to put their wash-basins, both tangible ~~material~~ (2) and immaterial, in tune with Ä~~l~~quntäm's in the land above. One method of treating a patient is by washing, with the idea that the water and vessel used have potency through association with those in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land above and wash them in Ä~~l~~quntäm's own basin. Such feats are perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as Älpälxɛlosaix.

It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions of these, ~~wash-basins,~~ there is a firm belief that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of ~~his three supernatural possessions,~~ spirit, tally posts, and wash-basin.

With regard to supernatural elements as a whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs concerning the precise functions of each, they play an important part in the life of every Bella Coola.

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(1). This may be a mere rationalization.
(2). See p. .

believes that this diversity ~~of~~ in detailed belief indicates the breaking down of what must once have been exact and tolerably clear concepts. In view of the vicissitudes suffered by the Bella Coola, it is not surprising that their old beliefs should have degenerated, and it is ~~xxxxx~~ , perhaps, remarkable that so ~~much~~ many have survived. Enough remains to show clearly the fundamental importance ~~attached by them to~~ of man's supernatural attributes, and their philosophical temperament of the people in defining and systematising the powers and concepts ~~attributed~~ pertaining to each.

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Means of Propitiation.

Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola ~~in~~ to gain the favour of their supernatural ~~beings and powers~~ have already been ~~xxxxxxx~~ mentioned, but the subject is ~~so~~ sufficiently important ~~that it~~ to warrant a separate section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings and powers and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is not surprising that ~~means to gain their help are important~~ the propitiation of them is a vital factor in the lives ~~of the Bella Coola.~~ The ~~methods employed~~ chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the observance of ceremonial chastity.

Prayer.

The being to whom prayers are regularly addressed is Ä̈lquntä̈ who, in this connection is ~~spoken of, not as Älquntäm, but~~ known as Mänakais or Tätä, ~~each~~ either meaning, Father. A wise man or woman desiring success in hunting, in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or indeed in any activity whatsoever, is accustomed to ~~request~~ ask Mänakais to grant his desire. No ritual is required, the petitioner merely seeks a lonely place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, requesting his assistance.

Although prayers ~~can~~ may thus be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions ~~on which~~ when they are more customary than at other times.

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At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. He enters the icy water, blows mucus over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously (1) with either a pebble, worn smooth in the river, or, if it can be obtained, a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion. (2). As he thus scours himself, he asks Mɪnakais to grant him long life, power, success and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways placates the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that Älquntäm actually hears the words spoken and, pleased thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body.

Mɪnakais has power over both rain and dry weather, and is accordingly petitioned for whichever is desired. When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray:

"Please clean your face, Mɪnakais", or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking.

"Mɪnakais", he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers are always made before the departure of a hunting or war party. Canoes always start soon after dawn, and each member of the expedition is careful to pray before leaving, and also to avoid eating in case food should in any way interfere with the success of the venture. Before reaching their destination, a chief in each canoe draws from a pouch some eagle down brought

(2). The Bella Coola state that stones are often found in the stomachs of sea-lions. One specimen, considered of great value, was seen; it was undistinguishable from a water-smoothed river pebble.

(1). Mine was formerly used for washing both the body and clothing. It was followed by the application of clean water, and undoubtedly had a religious significance; indeed, washing purely for cleanliness was not habitual until recently.

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for the purpose, holds it before his mouth, and blows a little towards each of the four ~~airts~~ cardinal points, at the same time asking Munakais to smile on the enterprise and grant a safe return. This does not guarantee success, but it is felt that any disaster which may occur, would have been more serious if assistance had not been requested thus ~~in this manner.~~

Although Alquntam, under the name of Munakais, is the being to whom prayers are most often addressed, petitions are sometimes ~~made~~ spoken to other beings. In the beginning of time, when Raven had superabundant ~~power~~ ability, human beings frequently ~~asked~~ sought his assistance. At the present time, he is sometimes asked for aid, in the belief that he may still have some shreds of his former power, or be in a better position than mortals to intercede with Munakais. If Raven croaks when it is raining, ~~people~~ he is often asked ~~them~~ to request the supreme being to stop the rain; in such cases, a petitioner is careful to address ~~Raven by his name~~ a as Nowakila, his title as chief, rather than as Qwax. ~~And~~ In ~~cold~~ winter weather, a raven is sometimes caught alive; its head is smeared with grease and ~~then~~ as it is released, ~~while its~~ the captor says:

"Please end the cold wind, Nowakila."

Prayers are also said half humourously ~~and~~, half seriously, on many occasions. When, for example, clothing has become too ~~worn~~ bedraggled for further use, it is thrown on a fire with the remark:

"Please come to me again, new."

The thrower does not actually believe that ~~by~~ in so doing he is asking help from his clothing, but it gives him a certain sense of satisfaction thus to have expressed his desires.

The prayer above described can be said by anyone, at any time; they are the means of propitiation known to the whole community. In addition, the writer learnt of two prayers ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ each of which is the jealously guarded prerogative of a single family. ~~Each~~ Either is considered an almost certain means of stopping rain, but no one, even though ~~he knew~~ aware of the method, ~~could~~ would practise it with success unless he ~~was~~ is a ~~xxx~~ member of the

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family to which ~~this~~ the prerogative belonged.

One of these prayers, ~~belonging to~~ the property of a Kimsquit family, is addressed to Xemxemälotła. If the petitioner wishes to stop heavy rain, he goes to a quiet place in the woods and ~~calls~~ in a loud voice:

"Aiyɛ Xemxemälotła , nuqwikɒit ~~tłok~~ tłoq' di sonyʷnuɒx
Hail, Xemxemälotła, open the loftiest of your heaven

skäxyusamɒu dji stłexwnixmu teim nänudjux ."
so that may look down the cherished one your child.

That is, "Expose the upper heaven so that your cherished child may look down."

It will be remembered that Xemxemälotła is the being who ~~looks after~~ takes care of Tłäqmäks in the upper sky land. It is said that this prayer was learnt by one of my informants's ancestors in the beginning of time, and that ~~the~~ repetition of the exact words is enough to drive away the rain clouds ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ between earth and the upper heaven. Care was taken for many generations ~~always~~ to teach some intelligent member of the family the ~~exact~~ correct ~~words~~ prayer, and the person so entrusted was expected to be willing to use his knowledge for the benefit of any of his relatives desiring fine weather.

Another prayer prerogative of similar type was recorded from an old man who related what he had seen his grandfather do many years before. The two were once hunting when heavy rain not only threatened their success, but drove them to the shelter of a projecting ledge. The grandfather, ~~as~~ not having any cedar-bark with him, cut and dried some evergreen boughs which he gave to his grandson, telling him to light them and wave them over his, the grandfather's, head. When this had been done, the old man rushed out into the rain and in a loud voice asked some supernatural being, whose name was forgotten by my informant, to throw his eyes upon the rain clouds in order to ~~so that they would be dispelled~~ them. That night the petitioner neither drank water nor urinated, and the next day the weather was fine. This particular method of praying ~~was~~ had been learnt ~~by~~ by one of the petitioner's ancestors in the beginning of time, and ~~was since~~ has been used trans- was afterwards

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mitted in his family. With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of customs, it has not been exercised ~~by any of his descendants~~ since the death of my informant's grandfather.

Sacrifice.

Theoretically, it ~~would~~ might be expected that a clear division could be made between the subjects of Prayer and Sacrifice, but ~~in practice~~ practically they merge into one another. ~~It~~ A mountain goat hunter, ~~is~~ when camped near a glacier which he knows ~~is~~ to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, ~~he~~ asks help from him. He ~~often~~ wears dyed and undyed cedar bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after ~~his~~ the prayer throws ~~these~~ them into the fire, ~~with the~~ saying,

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

If he is ~~still~~ even more cautious ~~and~~ or eager not to offend any supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws not only tufts of cedar bark, but eagle down and scraps of food as well. Whether or not the objects ~~so~~ thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom ~~the request~~ the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not philosophize, but the generosity and self-denial of the donor ~~is recognised by the supernatural being who frequently shows his appreciation by some favour.~~ are appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. ~~If~~ A man who frequently hears the voice of some supernatural being in his dreams, ~~he~~ knows that ~~the latter~~ it is taking an interest in his doings ~~and he~~ endeavours to propitiate the being by ~~throwing~~ placing on a fire tid-bits of any ~~game~~ food that he has obtained, ~~that he has killed~~, saying at the same time:

"Wai, wai, wai," "More, more, more", that is, "May I ~~receive~~ receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

The being to whom offerings are ~~principally~~ most commonly made is ~~T'itcapli~~Tlitcapliłan a, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and gives power to shamans. When a hunter kills an animal in the forest he always cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws these into his fire to gain the good-will of ~~T'itcapli~~Tlitcapliłan a. Long, long ago, she appeared to

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Likewise, a person is careful to propitiate supernatural powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and Mesatche Nose, the point between Laboucher e Channel and Bentinck Arm, there is danger from the treacherous currents, so, when a shaman passes either of these ~~points~~, he ~~places~~ lays some food on the water and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain.

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is T!itcaplilan a, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and gives power to shamans. When a hunter kills an edible animal in the forest, he always cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws them into his fire to gain her good-will. ~~of~~ T!itcaplilan a. Long, long ago, ~~she~~ appeared to

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a hunter, seized some of his quarry, and told him of her desires with regard to presents; these have since been ~~obeyed~~ granted by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of a man absent in the mountains or at sea, throw scraps of food on the fire and ask the protection of T!itcäpli!än'a for the one in danger. In the case of T!itcäpli!än'a, it is clear that objects thrown ~~upon the fire~~ into flames are received and appreciated by her.

M·nakais, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also ~~receives~~ given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accompanies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of eagle down. ~~And~~ Before starting on a journey by canoe, the captain is careful to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and four of yellow cedar bark. The blowing upwards of eagle down is a common accompaniment of to all kinds of prayers, but if none is available, cedar bark can be used equally satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water, otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and considered valuable by Alquntäm, but they emphasize and ~~accompany~~ the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's sincerity.

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on presents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw small particles of food on a fire; these become large when they reach the land below and nourish the ghosts. An individual making an offering of this kind says "Änukäl!imut kuskaq", "This is to make straight your road, beloved one."

The needs and desires of the ghosts have been made known to mortals both through visits paid by shamans to the land below, and by the coming of ghosts to this world. It is therefore realised that food placed on the ground does not reach the land below, but whereas that morsels thrown on a fire sink through into the abode of ~~land where dwell the~~ ghosts. Offerings made to the dead are not made with the hope of receiving favours from them, but rather to provide beloved relatives with necessary food and to prevent them from showing displeasure by causing stomach-aches and

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other ailments.

Other instances, both of prayer and of sacrifice, will be recorded in connection with various myths. The salient feature is that the Bella Coola are able to gain, by such means, the favour of supernatural beings, a factor which plays an important part in their daily life. In addition, they have a large number of practices based on sympathetic magic. No ~~absolutely~~ rigid boundary line can be drawn between the latter and religion proper, but there is a fairly clear division between rites such as those just described, in which propitiation is the important element, and others ~~where~~ in which the desired end follows the mere performance of a certain act. Customs of this last type will be reserved for later consideration. ~~(Chapter X)~~

The Observance of Ceremonial Chastity

~~In addition to~~ Besides prayer and sacrifice, the Bella Coola ~~have yet another means of~~ obtaining the good-will of supernatural beings, and at the same time strengthening their own supernatural attributes so that good fortune is likely to occur. ~~This is~~ by the

somewhat

ceremonial chastity, of which the basis is that a man must not hold intercourse except

after certain periods of continence. To understand this, it is neccessary to understand the attitude of the Bella Coola to the sexual act itself. Although it is a normal part of life (for no one would voluntarily abstain from all contact) yet the union of man and woman does not lack import, since its very humaoness distinguishes those who practise it in the eyes of supernatural beings, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic. Those who indulge excessively become so over-charged with this characteristic that their undertakings are certain to fail, whereas those who remain continent for a considerable period are so freed from the contagion of mankind that they become almost supernatural themselves and always succeed in their ventures. If, after a period of restraint, a man holds intercourse, this essentially human act adds typical human strength to that accumulated by chastity. Chastity alone gives power; but chastity consummated by intercourse at the proper period increases that power enormously. This somewhat complicated belief is accepted without question by every Bella Coola, playing an important part in their lives, even in their present degraded condition. The following story illustrated the point rather clearly:--

A party of Kingcome Inlet people had been present at a ceremonial at Smith Inlet. While returning home one canoe, containing a chief, his wife, and eighteen or twenty commoners, was caught by an unexpected south wind and driven on the rocky islet, Sno'abädäx, where the lighthouse now stands. The occupants managed to reach shore and to save their canoe. The islet was barren, but they made a rude shelter of boughs in which they lived while the storm continued. Every day the chief sent out the young men to hunt seals, and every day they returned empty-handed. The little food they had with them on landing was now exhausted and they were starving. One night, when they were almost famished the chief said to his wife:

"The youths have done their best. Now that death is before us I want to create a kindly feeling. I am going out, probably to die during the night, and I want you to allow each young man to sleep with you. It is a strange request but our condition is unusual, and the story of your shame will never be known, because we shall soon all be dead."